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THE REPUBLICAN OUTLOOK.

BY THE HON. THOMAS H. CARTER, CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN
NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

SINCE its organization, the best interests and the purest aspirations of the people have found representation and expression through the Republican party. As a rule the prospects of the party have not been brighter than the prospects of the country, and the present exception proves that the prosperity the nation has enjoyed found its fostering force in the pre-eminent adaptability of Republican principles and policies to the moral, social, physical, and economic conditions of our national life.

For well nigh a generation prior to March 4, 1893, the people of the United States had enjoyed an almost unvarying experience of prosperity, unparalleled in the world's history. Preliminary to an intelligent forecast of the prospects of the party, an estimate of the extent, and a brief analysis of the causes, of its defeat in 1892, seem essential. After successfully conducting the government through the war for the preservation of the Union, the party addressed itself to the task of vitalizing and developing the industrial energies of the country. The protective tariff policy which had sustained the government through the perils of the rebellion was adopted as a cardinal principle of Republican faith, and was advocated as a governmental policy calculated to secure the permanent commercial and industrial independence of the nation, and the highest attainable prosperity for the body of the people.

With a view to facilitating the settlement of the western country, and to more closely binding together remote parts of the Union, railway construction across the plains and through the mountains was encouraged. Inspired by enlightened progressive public policy, the men who had conquered the rebellion set about

the task of converting the material resources of the continent to the purposes of civilization. The wonderful achievements of this conquest of peace outstripped the most marvellous tales of Oriental fiction and challenged the admiration of all mankind. Contrasted with the gloomy periods of Democratic rule before the war, the new era brought into bold relief the merits of progressive as opposed to reactionary policy.

In the mean time the great tide of immigration following the war carried with it certain vicious elements which naturally lodged in the large cities of the country, and quite as naturally gravitated to and remained steadily with the Democratic party. In the wards of all our large cities where crime, ignorance, and alien sentiments prevail, Democratic majorities are unfailing and overwhelming.

For the party, the extraordinary success of the country brought forth elements of weakness. The minority persistently contended that the experience of the past could not be justly applied to present conditions; that the achievements of science and art had so far modified industrial affairs that ancient rules relating to supply and demand, social development, educational advancement, and the general conditions incident to and surrounding this republic no longer controlled, as formerly, our internal and external relations.

Gradually sentiment became eliminated from national politics the farther we receded from the great war period, and the issue that gave rise to it. In a constantly increasing degree, political convictions evolved from mathematical calculations, and on this cold basis party enthusiasm was chilled.

Individual prosperity began to be regarded only in a relative sense. The laborer whose daily wage was greater, both nominally and in purchasing power, than the sum earned in like employment in any other country, became dissatisfied because his employer seemed more prosperous than himself. The rapid transposition of various forms of real estate into personal property, through the formation of incorporated companies created to facilitate large railway and other operations, naturally resulted in building up large fortunes, which experience has shown more apparent than real in thousands of instances. Nevertheless these large apparent accumulations of wealth sufficed to breed envy and discontent among prosperous people whose situations, while felici-

tous in themselves, became unsatisfactory because suffering by comparison.

Thus enterprises fostered by the Republican party, actuated by a desire to guarantee the perpetuity of the Union, or to meet the quickened and progressive spirit of the age, developed elements of discontent to the party's disadvantage. From these and other causes the percentage of Republican votes gradually decreased in the Republican States after the war.

The platform in 1872 declared emphatically in favor of a protective tariff. The Democratic platform avoided the issue by referring the question to the people of the Congressional districts. It is a significant fact that in the election of that year the Republican party polled the largest percentage of the popular vote ever cast for its presidential candidate, viz., 55.63 per cent., whereas in 1864, eleven Democratic States not voting, Lincoln only received 55.06 per cent. of the popular vote.

While temporary causes have induced the percentage to rise and fall since 1872, the fact is apparent that the percentage of the total vote cast for Republican candidates in presidential elections has decreased as the following table will show :

Year.	Rep. Per Cent. of Pop. Vote.	Year.	Rep. Per Cent. of Pop. Vote.
1872.....	55.63	1884.....	48.22
1876.....	47.95	1888.....	47.83
1880.....	48.31	1892.....	42.84

It is important to bear in mind that a very large proportion of the Republican vote cast in the Southern States in 1872 was thereafter so suppressed that to-day it is voiceless and unheard. To assume that Republican loss has resulted in corresponding Democratic gains would be erroneous, as the following table of Democratic percentages of the total vote will show :

Year.	Dem. Per Cent. of Pop. Vote.	Year.	Dem. Per Cent. of Pop. Vote.
1872.....	43.83	1884.....	48.48
1876.....	50.94	1888.....	48.63
1880.....	48.20	1892.....	45.98

The balance of the popular vote has been cast for the presidential candidates of independent parties that have changed names and professions at each election.

It will be observed that Mr. Cleveland received a smaller percentage of the popular vote in 1892 than had been cast for any candidate of his party since 1872. Democratic success in 1892

did not therefore result, as has been popularly supposed, from a general uprising in favor of that party or its theories of government, but on the contrary the popular verdict was adverse to Mr. Cleveland, free trade, and reaction.

The third, or People's, party, supplemented by the sectarian-school-law agitation in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana, is responsible for Mr. Cleveland's election and is entitled to whatever credit or blame there may be attached to his administration. Through the causes indicated, the Republican States of Wisconsin, Illinois, California, North Dakota, Indiana, and Ohio cast 61 electoral votes for Mr. Cleveland, and the States of Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, and Idaho cast 22 votes for Weaver. These votes, placed in the Republican column, where they legitimately belong, would have resulted in 228 electoral votes for Harrison, as against 194 for Cleveland, with New York in the Democratic column.

Again, it will be observed by reference to the returns that a change of 27,426 votes, properly distributed in California, Delaware, Idaho, North Dakota, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, and West Virginia, would have given those States to Harrison and secured his election.

Elections in the Southern States have confessedly become such a mere matter of form that little significance can justly be attached to the returns as indicative of public sentiment, and therefore the increase or decrease of majorities in only those States wherein elections are substantially fair and free can be referred to as conveying instructive lessons. In the country north of Mason and Dixon's line and west of the old slave territory, notwithstanding the People's party movement, Harrison in 1892 fell only 148,276 behind his vote of 1888; whereas Cleveland, the legatee of all disaffections and disorders in the same territory, received in 1892 72,431 votes less than in 1888.

It is obvious from a glance at these facts and figures that through all party vicissitudes for thirty years the Republican party has maintained its hold on a large percentage of the popular vote with a tenacity unprecedented in party history in this country. It is also obvious that in 1892 the party principles were not repudiated directly by the people, nor did the popular verdict direct, although it permitted, a substitution of the Democratic theory of free trade for the Republican policy of protection.

Independently of the existing financial, commercial, and industrial depression, the future of the Republican party is unquestionably bright and promising.

The experience being endured by the country now will inevitably and indelibly impress upon this generation a clear understanding of the potential influence of a governmental policy, not only upon the nation at large, but likewise upon the vital interests of the individual citizen. Practical experience is clearing up erroneous impressions.

In 1888 the people directed a revision of the tariff by the friends of the protective policy, at the same time repudiating the revision presented on free-trade lines by the so-called Mills bill. As a matter of fact, the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives prepared, and Congress passed, in what is known as the McKinley Act, a revenue bill substantially in conformity with the demands of the electors. But it so happened in the framing of its schedules in committee, and in running the gauntlet through the House with its slender majority, together with certain amendments made in the Senate, duties were increased here and there upon a sufficient number of articles in general use to enable the minority to successfully prosecute, in the brief time between the passage of the bill and the elections of 1890, a campaign distinguished by the most colossal misrepresentation ever invented with intent to bewilder and mislead the people. Few had read the bill, and the country had not become familiar with its operations. The astute commercial instinct of many of our merchants, intent on stimulating trade, multiplied the apostles of error. Every one was advised to buy quickly and heavily, because of the alleged inevitable increase of prices under the McKinley law, and as a matter of fact prices were temporarily advanced in many instances on goods not affected by the tariff, and in other cases on articles that had actually been placed on the free list.

While in truth the McKinley Act made greater reductions than the Mills bill proposed, the impression became general, and existed until after the election of 1892, that the McKinley Act had greatly and unnecessarily increased the tariff. Laboring under this impression, people felt that the Republican party had abused its authority, and, so believing, they defeated us overwhelmingly at the polls in 1890. Before the election of 1892

many of these popular errors had been exploded by actual demonstration. More men had been employed, at better wages, than under any previous revenue law. Mills and factories were working on full time, and in some instances on double time. Prosperity reigned supreme. Confidence was universal throughout the land. Even the opponents of the Harrison administration felt constrained to admit that the Federal Government had never been administered with greater purity, intelligence, and dignity.

The extraordinary prosperity of the country generated widespread unrest amongst the great body of our laboring people. Extravagant though the statement may seem, I think it is nevertheless true, that great prosperity is quite as prolific a source of discontent and unrest as corresponding adversity. Old experience had ceased to be instructive. A certain percentage of the labor element accepted the statement that the manufacturers alone profited by the tariff, and that labor organizations did and would continue to maintain the price of wages irrespective of tariff schedules. But even in the presence of these conditions Mr. Cleveland wisely discerned that he could not hope to succeed on the Chicago platform and therefore in his letter of acceptance virtually repudiated the tariff plank of his party platform in the following words :

"The protection of the people in the exclusive use and enjoyment of their property and earnings concededly constitutes the special purpose and mission of our free government. This design is so interwoven with the structure of our plan of rule that failure to protect the citizen in such use and enjoyment, or their unjustifiable diminution by the government itself, is a betrayal of the people's trust. . . . We wage no exterminating war against any American interests."

On the vital issue of the campaign the great mass of the voters who supported Cleveland and Stevenson undoubtedly did so, as the recent Ohio election bears witness, accepting the tariff views expressed by Mr. Cleveland, and not the sentiments of the Chicago platform.

It is worthy of note that the language employed by Mr. Cleveland above quoted is almost identical in tone with the expressions in the letter of Mr. Polk in 1844, as follows:

"In adjusting the details of a revenue tariff I have heretofore sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed and at the same time afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industry."

Mr. Polk was elected, as was Mr. Cleveland. The free-trade

tariff bill of 1846 was in no sense less the consummation of a deception than will the Wilson bill prove an imposition if approved as passed by the House. Southern Democrats, led by Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, President Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, prepared the free-trade bill of 1846; and the same element, headed by Mr. Carlisle, of Kentucky, now Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, has dominated the present Congress, which has presented to the country the Wilson bill.

The tariff of 1846 quickly destroyed the prosperity attained under the protective tariff of 1842, precisely as the shadow and threat of the Wilson bill have quickly withered and blighted the magnificent prosperity attained under the tariff of 1890. History is but repeating itself. The good old ante-bellum days are with us again. These days are being endured, not enjoyed.

Taking into account the exhausted surplus supplies in the homes and retail stores of the country, it is not improbable that the fixing of definite figures by the passage of the Wilson bill will induce temporary business activity, but it is not necessary that existing stagnation continue, to insure Republican success. The American people must do some business on any basis. The party can and will succeed in 1896.

The question is frequently asked, Will the Western Republican States that supported the Weaver-Cleveland tickets at the last presidential election return to their allegiance? It would seem to suffice in answer to the question to refer to the scandalous administration of public affairs by representatives of the People's party in Western States and the consequent disintegration of the party as evidenced by the elections of 1893 in the States affected. The Populists have been a greater injury and affliction to Kansas than the grasshoppers and dry winds; while the good people of the neighboring State of Colorado have suffered in credit and self-respect through their connection with the same organization.

The People's party is a free-trade party, whereas the sentiment of the Western States is decidedly in favor of protection. While for vote-catching purposes the People's party pronounced in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, current events are driving the people to understand that as far as it has any financial theories, it favors cheap money, whereas the loyal advocates of silver coinage are opposed to cheap paper money, and

are in favor of bimetallism or a currency based on both gold and silver. All thoughtful men throughout the silver-producing States are beginning to fully realize that those States cannot achieve desired results by allowing the silver question to be handled by a party destined to be eternally in a minority.

The People's party is a Southern exotic, and on its financial theories responds to the Southern demand for fiat money and plenty of it; our Western people are as firmly devoted to sound money as the people of any part of the country. They are ardent bimetallists, and their interest in the restoration of silver is, of course, intensified by the fact that they produce it. Place-hunting demagogues have played upon this intense feeling by making extravagant statements which have constantly tended to create an erroneous impression throughout the Eastern States. A better understanding is destined to be reached between Eastern and Western Republicans. The people of the West are beginning to realize that through prudent, rather than extravagant, counsel their interests may be best subserved.

The fact is being considered that at least 90 per cent. of the people of the whole country are in favor of bimetallism and of the use of both gold and silver as the metals, and that the difference of opinion between the East and West arises, not on the principle involved, but upon the methods that can be safely employed to bring about the desired result. It is clear that nothing can be expected from the Democratic party, which is in power and will not do anything, nor from the People's party, which is neither in power nor justified in hoping for success. To the Republican party, the people will turn with renewed confidence and the Western Republican States will prove in future as loyal as of old.

All other considerations aside, should history remain true to itself, the present financial, commercial, and industrial depression precludes the possibility of Democratic success in 1896, and insures Republican triumph.

The panic of 1837 resulted in the overthrow of the Democratic party in 1840. The panic of 1857, while commonly lost sight of as a political force because of the stirring events which preceded the rebellion, rendered Republican success possible in 1860. The financial disturbances of 1873 reduced Republican strength from 55.63 per cent. to 47.95 per cent. of the total popular vote in 1876,

and the depression of 1883 prepared the way for Republican defeat in 1884. With a difference of only 3.14 per cent. of the popular vote in favor of the Democratic party, it will be perceived that a change of less than two votes in every hundred will insure success in the Republican States that have wandered from their party allegiance.

Existing conditions seem to guarantee a more radical change in the popular vote than Republican necessities require.

The trend of public sentiment is very clearly disclosed by the returns of recent elections in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, and elsewhere, all showing phenomenally large Republican gains.

In conclusion, then, Republican loss in the past has resulted from the abatement of party enthusiasm through the elimination of sentiment, personal disappointments resulting from the friction incident to a long-continued administration, discontent and unrest born of extraordinary prosperity, a misunderstanding between Eastern and Western Republicans as to the safe and effective method to be employed for the restoration of bimetallism, the suppression by force of the Republican vote in the South, the cohesiveness and ever-increasing strength of the vicious elements in the large cities, and a misunderstanding as to the real character of the McKinley law.

The great work to be done in the future for the advancement of civilization and good government in this country insures the perpetuation of Republican supremacy. It is the only national party in the United States worthy of the name and entirely equal to the intelligent administration of the general government. In the arena of peaceful conquest its great mission has scarcely begun. It remains for the party in the future to place our tariff system on a permanent basis along protection lines, and to develop the American merchant marine until our flag shall float over our messengers of commerce in every harbor and over all the seas.

The Monroe Doctrine must be rescued from the domain of sentiment and be recognized as a living, vital, and inviolable principle, supported by the strong arm of the government.

The two oceans must be united by the Nicaragua Canal.

The perpetuity of our republican form of government must be guaranteed by insuring honest national elections.

The men who saved the Republic must enjoy respectful consideration in their old age.

The claim of men to superiority over the material things created by their labor must be maintained.

The principle that the nation is greater than any of its component parts must not be surrendered.

Our foreign policy must become a strong American foreign policy—so firmly established and vigorously maintained that all the nations of the earth will extend to us the respect and consideration due to the strength we have attained and the high order of civilization we have reached.

Bimetallism must be restored on a safe and permanent basis.

The great work of internal improvements must be continued.

To these and kindred questions the Republican party will be commissioned anew to address itself at the next general election. The present unfortunate experience cannot fail to impress the country with the gravity of the mistake made in 1892, whereby the progressive work of the party was suddenly interrupted.

With a manifest misinterpretation of public sentiment presented through the Wilson bill; with current history verifying to an unfortunate degree all predictions made by the most ardent protectionist with reference to the destructive evils to follow the abandonment of the protective policy; with closed factories and open soup-houses, with disorganized business and organized charity; with breadless homes in the midst of the world's greatest granary; with the increase of the flocks of Australia and of South America simultaneously with the disappearance of the flocks from our own pastures; with New England idle and Old England active; with assignees and receivers as prominent business factors throughout the land; with organized labor seeking, not *higher* wages, but *any* wages; with decreased exports and increased imports; with cheap things and no chance to earn a dollar to buy them; with idle miners and flooded mines; with increasing farm products thrown into decreasing markets; with our foreign policy reversed, to the humiliation of the nation; and with confidence and hope supplanted by doubt and uncertainty—who can question that the contrast of *worse* with *better* days will result in the overwhelming triumph in 1896 of the party of progress, patriotism, and prosperity?

THOMAS H. CARTER.